l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

sun god, and the various *dewatas*, is erected. The so-called *widi-widana* offerings are made to them.

The candidate priest inquires of his wives which of them are willing to follow him into the priestly class, since he must divorce those who are not. Often it is not until shortly before his consecration that the priest-to-be marries his chief wife, who must be of equal birth; in that case the consecration ceremony is to be preceded by the ceremony of filing her teeth. According to the *Siwasasana*, a priest without a chief wife may not lead an offering where there is a *sanggar tawang*, a bamboo offering platform with three compartments for the Hindu trinity. Such a priest is called 'a mountain that does not enjoy the protection of a deity'.

Before the twentieth century a candidate never officially requested his mentor for consecration without first having ascertained that the ruler approved of his becoming a priest.

7

The Request

In the early morning of the day of consecration the *apipinton* ceremony takes place in the *pĕměrajan*, the household temple. In this ceremony the pupil and his master gaze steadfastly at one another; this is the last time until the end of the solemnities that the pupil may look upon his mentor. At this time he also gives the *punyakĕrti* and the *jauman* to his *guru*. The *punyakĕrti* consists of a new set of clothing, a complete bed, a set of cushions, a parasol, and the priestly wage. The *jauman* comprises cooked and raw food, the adoption offering, eggs, coconuts, the six-part glutinous-rice offering, rice pastry, and various delicacies such as steamed rice with chopped coconut and red sugar, biscuits, and sugar pastry.

With these gifts the pupil presents himself to his mentor and begs him for his paternal love. His official request runs more or less as follows:

> Exalted *guru, siwa*, master among the yogis, grant the request I make of you in all humility. It is true that what I offer you is a trifle, and what I ask of you is incomparably great, for it is nothing less than your love that

l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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silence. When he comes to the place where he earlier had achieved 793
the death of his passions, he finds there the *pĕngguruyaga* and, 796
sunk in meditation, raises his left foot above it, with his eyes focused on the point of his nose. Then all the children and grandchildren of the new priest's *guru* and all his fellow-disciples make a *sĕmbah* before him. One at a time the same persons lift up the *pĕngguruyaga* and place it on their heads for a moment.

The *pĕngguruyaga* and the *pĕnugrahan* are to be considered as a gift and a counter-gift. Both serve to represent the delivering power of the donor at the death of the recipient. For this reason they are indicated as *pangĕntas*, deliverance. If the disciple dies first, his *guru*'s *pĕnugrahan* is burnt with his corpse as *pangĕntas*. When the *guru* later also dies, his late disciple's *pĕngguruyaga* is likewise burnt with his body as the *pangĕntas* of the disciple.

13

The Acquisition of Full Priestly Competence

With this the actual ceremony of consecration is ended. Even so 793
the new priest does not yet have full competence to perform the priestly functions. For the first three days after the consecration he may not avail himself of holy water made in his own bathing place, but uses the water in which the *guru* washed his feet during the consecration.

After a maximum of three months he presents his *guru* with offerings similar to those he gave when making his official request for priesthood. These offerings serve as evidence that he has completed his study of the *wedas*. Called *pangrĕmĕkan*, they consist [131] ●
of money, uncooked rice, cooked rice, glutinous rice, pastry, and sixteen thousand doits as *arta pamraskara*, expiatory money.

After presenting these offerings the disciple asks to be allowed to *ngĕlinggihang Sang Hyang Weda*, to deposit the *wedas*. The *guru* then gives him an examination to determine whether he can recite the *weda* texts by heart, knows the contents of the various manuals for priests, and is familiar with the customs regarding the *pujas*. On completion of the examination the *guru* grants the permission

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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852 and is held again on two favourable days in the latter half of the
561 same month.

562 The next month, Kasanga, the three girls' associations pay a counter-visit, bringing gifts to the house of the *guru* of the *tĕrunas nyoman*, each association on its own day. These ceremonial visits back and forth are then repeated at set times.

[554] The *tĕrunas nyoman* continue to live with their *guru* for a year,
86 passing the night in his *bale buga*. His instruction includes *adat*,
561 religious stipulations, and secret incantations that may not be
562 revealed to anyone from outside the *desa* or set down in writing.
875 But also ordinary school subjects such as reading, arithmetic, and knowledge of the *kidungs*, Old Javanese writings, and chronology are taught, in as far as the *guru* has the knowledge to teach them.

[593] The parents do not have to pay any expenses or school fees for this stay at the *guru*'s house, and are only responsible for providing the boys with food. The boys themselves, however, have to spend

[431] quite a bit on gifts for the girls, so that at the beginning of the period they need to borrow money, to be repaid by the year's end. Consequently the pupils spend their free time doing all sorts of odd jobs for money to be saved in their treasury. At the end of the period they use this money to pay their debts, and the surplus is divided equally.

During their apprenticeship the *tĕrunas nyoman* must follow their *guru*'s commands and the constitution of their association strictly. The latter describes some of the boys' obligations – for example they must stand watch at their *guru*'s house, armed with a creese and a blowpipe, they must set his betel ready and go with him to the bathing place, and they must accompany the village girls on their processions. And it lists certain regulations regarding propriety in clothing, speech, and behaviour. They may not enter the *guru*'s sleeping place, visit their parents' home without permission, nor return to the *guru*'s dwelling after midnight. They are also prohibited to cross the Buhu River during their apprenticeship. Violations are punished by a warning or a fine of thirty-three, sixty-six, or a hundred doits. Three warnings are followed by a fine of thirty-three doits.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

735 lately, in places frequented by tourists, people are beginning to
177 ask for money as a return for a service. Ordinarily even a child would be scolded and shamed by anyone who heard him ask something from a stranger. A gift must be reciprocated and we
431 were often embarrassed by the return presents of our poor neigh-
123 bours. We gave Ktut Adi, a little dancer of eight, a scarf of no great value; one day soon after she came to us with a basket of rice, some eggs, and a live chicken, carried by her mother because the load was too great for her. Children of the neighbourhood that Rose had treated for infected wounds always came back with presents of fruit, cakes, or rice which they handed casually to our house-boy, never mentioning them to us, as if they wanted to avoid making a demonstration of their generosity. Even children have a strong sense of pride.

565 The aristocracy is despotic and arrogant, but the ordinary
181 people, although used to acknowledging the superiority of their masters, are simple and natural in an unservile and unsubmissive way. By the threat of passive disobedience and boycott they kept
[626] the princes from overstepping their bounds. Europeans com-
[648] plain that the Balinese make bad servants; they are too free, too frank, and do not respond to the insolent manner that the white man has adopted as " the only way to deal with natives."

577 Their moral code consists in maintaining their traditional behaviour, observing their duties towards their fellow villagers and paying due respect to the local feudal princes. Among themselves they are kind and just, avoiding unnecessary quarrels and solving their disputes by the simplest and most direct methods.

621 The villages are organized into compact boards or councils,
476 independent of other villages. Every married man — that is,
[623] every grown man — is a member of the council and is morally and physically obliged to co-operate for the welfare of the community. A man is assisted by his neighbours in every task he cannot perform alone; they help him willingly and as a matter of duty, not expecting any reward other than the knowledge that, were they in his case, he would help in the same manner. In this way

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

576 question with monosyllables, and one should not point with the index finger. It is better to use the words for the cardinal points to indicate direction, but if one must point, it should be done with the thumb, holding the rest of the hand closed.

574 The Balinese are constantly paying visits to one another, but
431 no one would dream of making a formal visit without bringing along a gift of some sort: fruit, rice, eggs, or chickens, given casually and received without a word of thanks. It is taken for granted that the present is appreciated by the acceptance of it, but if one wants to be over-polite, one says: "*Tiang nunás*, I want it" or "I like it" (*idéh* in the common language). An object is handed with the right hand while touching the elbow with the left, and it is received with the same gesture.

431 The gift-problem became acute for us as we entered into a
123 competition with our friends and neighbours for more and more valuable presents. Someone would arrive with a basket of eggs or rice; we repaid the visit taking a cheap head-cloth. On the next visit they came with piles of fruit and even live chickens, so we had to rush to the market to buy a batik shirt or a bottle of Javanese perfume. We generally ended by exchanging brocades, krisses, and so forth for pieces of silk, flashlights, and fountain pens. The Balinese are very much concerned with the price paid
[435] for an object, and they always insisted on knowing what we paid for a present, until we realized that it was a great mistake to remove the price tags. When we bought new glasses or new plates, Dog, our house-boy, washed them carefully around the label so as not to rub off the price.

574 It is necessary to be properly dressed to pay or to receive a visit.
[292] The breasts of men and women should be covered by a special breast-cloth, a *saput* for men and a *selendang* for women. People in the house always dashed for their breast-cloth, usually an ordinary foreign towel, when a special guest arrived. Immediately the visitor was provided with green coconuts to quench his
[177] thirst, with cigarettes and betel-nut. Up-to-date Balinese like to offer soda-pop, coffee and Chinese pastries. The chewing of

THE COMMUNITY

The chewing of 49
betel-nut is the first gesture of hospitality and the main social 574
pastime of the entire archipelago. To chew betel, a piece of the 276
green nut of the betel palm is dabbed with a little lime, wrapped in pepper leaves, *sirih*, and the whole chewed together with a large wad of shredded tobacco that is held under a monstrously protruding lower lip. The combination of betel, *sirih*, and lime produces an abundant flow of saliva, red as blood, and the betel addict spits constantly, leaving crimson splotches wherever he goes. After certain guests departed, our house-boy always had to wash the veranda steps because they looked as if a murder had been committed on them. Today betel-chewing is not favoured 276
by the younger generation, not only because it looks so disagree- [178]
able, but because it spoils the teeth. The older the person, the fonder he is of betel, and the ingredients are always kept on hand in boxes with little compartments or in special satchels of woven pandanus. Old men without teeth have a special bamboo tube [886]
with an iron rod to mash the various ingredients together. The [431]
sirih, betel, and lime are presented to guests in little ready-made packages often beautifully decorated with streamers of delicately cut-out palm-leaf. They are called *tjanang* or *baséh*, a gift.

A host must act as servant to his guests, himself attending to 574
their comfort and not partaking of the refreshments. Meals are 264
also served by the host, even if he has servants and assistants, and he can eat only after the guests have finished. If the visitors come from another village, they are expected to stay for the night and even for days at a time. The place of honour in the house is then assigned to them. After a reasonable period of time the visit is repaid and the presents reciprocated.

Very strict are the rules between men and women. On public 562
occasions men and women keep to themselves in separate groups, 576
and people from Gianyar are shocked to see the sexes mingle in Badung while watching a show. In the same manner the people of Badung are disgusted because in Tabanan men and women [515]
bathe near together. It is rude to look into a public bath and even worse to enter it unless to bathe. Then the other bathers become figuratively invisible.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

*845 852 [783] On the twelfth day after the birth of the twins the ceremony *nyambutin* was celebrated in the *kubu*. After *nyambutin* in Sukawanä the usual child and his parents are sufficiently purified to be allowed to enter the temples. Although for the family of I Lèwèr there still remained thirty days of exile, during which they might not even enter the village, much less the temples, still these small offerings had to be made according to custom.

[372] [462] [285] During the last days the men of the village were busy at the *kubu* cutting trees into blocks for the chopping of the meat offerings, weaving rough trays of split bamboo, preparing skewers and sharpening knives for the feast. It is a part of the custom that the villagers must not only contribute to the offerings but lend their indispensable [476] aid in the making of them, for it is an array such as no single family could prepare alone. In return they are treated to a feast at the expense of the father of the twins. In the houses of I Lèwèr's erstwhile neighbors the materials were *845 852 [931] 252 collected. Each man sent his share, according to his means. If a rich man should send a poor contribution, he would be too ashamed! The women cooked the rice and formed it into little cones, and into cakes of varied shapes and colors, and of sugar and riceflour they made still other dainties for the gods and for the demons. They wove plates [285] of palm-leaf, and decorative fanshaped, circular, and trailing *sampéans* as top-pieces for the offerings, all of the young yellow leaf cut with a knife in strong simple design.

*845 780 852 The part of the men is the killing and preparation of the animal offerings. On the day before the ceremony they killed the water-buffalo, skinned it, and cut and cooked the meat in various ways. The next morning the calf, pig, [231] [267] goat, goose, ducks, chickens, and the three-colored dog ('red', black and white) were killed and made ready. At eleven o'clock in the morning I Lèwèr's neighbors were still busy finishing the last dozens of palm-leaf decorations necessary for the offerings. When all was done the splendid array was laid out upon the bare ground where I Lèwèr's house had stood, and they were enough to completely

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

wealth as well as their caste. The *mĕcharu* given for twins born in Tĕgĕs Kawan and in Kutri included, as animal offerings, only five chickens, a duck, a pig, and a dog, and the other offerings were correspondingly less than those used in Sukawană, for instance, where a buffalo, a calf, a goat, and a goose had to be offered as well as the less expensive beasts. But to say that in Tĕgĕs Kawan and in Kutri the *mĕcharu* for *manak salah* comprises only offerings of five chickens, a duck, a pig and a dog, would be incorrect, for twins might conceivably be born to a family there which considered itself sufficiently "high" to give one of the more elaborate *charu*.

In connection with this it may be noted that whereas in the old villages the members of the Balé Agung are generally required to contribute to the ceremonies, upon each man falling the burden of his share, it is more costumary for the father of the twins to go begging from door to door, receiving contributions which may not amount to more than a cent per household. In many districts he begs not only in his own Balé Agung but in three, seven, ten, or eleven nearby Balé Agung's, until he has collected the necessary funds. It is said that he may not be refused, no matter how small the contribution. The origin of this custom is probably that in former times the entire *nĕgară*, the kingdom ruled by a certain Rajă, was rendered *sĕbĕl* by the birth of boy and girl twins in one of its villages (so I was told by Chokordă Anom of the ruling house of Klungkung). The lontars say such twins *ngĕlĕtĕhin jagat*, or *bumi*, or *nĕgară*. This can be translated „to make unclean the country", and originally must have meant the whole kingdom, although now it is interpreted to mean a single Balé Agung. But the custom remains of asking contributions in a number of surrounding Balé Agung's, as a leftover of their participation in the *sĕbĕl* state in former times. Today not more than a single Balé Agung is considered *sĕbĕl*, and sometimes only the *banjar* (one of the village groups which make up the Balé Agung) in which the birth of the twins occurred.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

and the mother and father must be moved to a hut at the cross-roads or on the seashore, until the children are 42 days old, in Balinese called *nyĕpi* (this term is usually applied to the yearly purification of the village, after a *mĕcharu*, when the people retire to their houses and leave the streets "lonely", so that the bad spirits will depart). And the villagers of a single Balé Agung put up signs of pandanus before the middle of the door of each courtyard, and it is called *sĕbĕl*, unclean, within that village.

Before the arrival of a favorable day (*dĕwasă*) for *nyĕpi* the father of the twins must beg alms of the people of seven different Balé Agung's, asking contributions for the ceremony to purify the country, and the people of a single Balé Agung (his own) must help him. The father must provide money to the amount of 10,100 kèpèngs, rice, coconuts, eggs, and so on.

As soon as the children are 42 days old, the people of the single Balé Agung must make the offerings *charu* and *mĕkiis* to the sea. The names of the offerings and the *charu* depend upon the estimate of the Padandă and the desire of the villagers, for example, *manchă walikramă*, *malik sumpah*, *manchă sanak*. The *charu* is celebrated by a Padandă Siwă and a Padandă Bodă, assisted by a Sĕngguhu.

As soon as the offerings are completed, the children are purified *(kĕjayă)* at the Balé Agung, at the temples, at the market-place, the river, and the sea, and only after this may the children be taken home to their house.

Likewise if people have twins *manak salah*, but the birth happens differently, so that the boy is born first and the girl afterward, that is called *silih asih*. In this case, according to the explanation of the lontar, no uncleanness results, but an obscure statement suggests that it brings evils and misfortune just as *bunching* described above.

The explanation of the lontars further states that when people have a boy and a girl born at the same time, but with only one placenta, one of the children is "wrong", *salah*, and it is not called *bunching* nor *silih asih*. Thus:

1. If the girl brings the placenta and the boy does not, that is called *kĕmbar tunggal* (twins single), which means that it is as if both were girls.
2. If the boy brings the placenta and the girl does not, that also is called *kĕmbar tunggal*, as if both were boys.

access to communal lands by outsiders. Out-groupers may exploit such lands only after they have paid in advance a fee for the use of the lands, and continued to pay rent afterwards. In principle, they obtain usufruct for just one season. They may never buy, sell or inherit such fields. Nor may they receive such fields as security. And finally, under native law they may be forbidden even to enter upon the communal lands, or perhaps be subject to other disabilities, although this last power is today of doubtful constitutionality.

Outsiders must apply to the village chiefs for permission to use village land. To pave the way for a favorable response to such request, a little gift to the chiefs is good Indonesian custom. In certain law-areas it is customary to give a tangible token to the community at the beginning of the enterprise, so as to display the outsider's consciousness of the advantage he is about to realize on someone else's land. In Angkola, for example, when a group of people, who do not belong to the ruling village wish to get permission to set up a new hamlet in the area of disposal belonging to a regional community, their headman must bring in six water buffaloes. These are then turned to the profit of the whole regional community. And on Bali the population of the immigrant village of Kastala is nothing other than share-croppers on the fields of the people of Tnganan, the owners of the land. Generally, however, the practice is merely to give occasional token payments in addition to the initial compensation. This, too, is largely to symbolize the admission of advantage derived from someone else's property, because the payment may be very small, indeed. In Minangkabau the legal maxim "lembaga dituang, adat diisi" is sometimes explained as meaning that strangers owe acknowledgment and retribution to the community. Whatever earnings are brought in from this source go to both the chiefs and the people.

As against the rights of outsiders the community believes that its ultimate title is never impaired. Aliens cannot permanently settle on the land. Their relation to it must remain loose: the "orang menumpang" as contrasted to the "orang asal" among the Rejang. Only when outsiders have lived in the community for generations do they acquire a more clearly fixed title to their fields. And even then their rights readily give way to the rights of the community in any crisis. In addition, the descendants of the original village in a regional community, or the descendants of the founding lineages in a village, sometimes constitute a central group,

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Gorontalo OG4
Bali OF7
Java OE1

3. *Other forms.*—Among the Minahasa, the tie which binds the father to his child is confirmed by him through an adat present, called "lilikur," to the mother of the child. In like manner, the bond between a foster parent and an adopted child is sometimes established by a present.

Numerous other customs are based on the idea that the transfer of some tangible goods effects a desired connection between two persons at the time of the transfer. The small present (usually in the form of food), which accompanies a petition to a person in power or authority, and which in Western eyes is too frequently looked upon as a bribe, is to be understood in this wise. The lawsuit deposit or present, which the plaintiff adds to his claim, is another instance. These presents pave the way for the establishment of the desired temporary arrangement, and lay the course down which the decision can come.

The sharecropper's payment of "srama" (see p. 120), can be linked to this institution. The acceptance of the "srama" obligates the receiver to give an answer or render a decision to the petitioner's desire to use his land, even though it be a negative one. The "srama" is not always the same as the "panjer," but it is certainly closely related to it; magically at least, it seems to be the same.

In the case of the "panjer," the visible token follows the agreement and makes it mutually binding. In the case of the present, which accompanies a petition, acceptance obligates an answer, and sometimes, if it be an invitation, it obligates consent. This may possibly be true of a "srama," too. And the giving of presents also has some compulsion in it.

A concrete token can also be used to bind yourself to decisions formulated in your absence. In Bali, a person who is detained from going to the desa meeting, can give his kris to some member of the nuclear village to take along as a proxy. So the Balinese widow employs the kris of her dead husband to represent him when adopting a child for him after his death. In Java, a prince may marry a concubine *in absentia* by having himself represented by an official to whom he gives his personal kris to be taken along for the occasion. The great lords of Mandar, in South Celebes, magically bind a girl to themselves by sending her a kris. If the girl wishes to be free again, she has to be "bought loose."

4. *Prohibitory symbols.*—The visible symbol which establishes the relation of a person to land or to a tree is of similar nature. Positively, it establishes a legal tie between the object and its maker,

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Redjang-Lampung OD12
Gorontolo OG4 Java OE1
Gayo-Alas OD7 Bali OF7
Celebes OG1

in the frontier region between the Minangkabau and Mandailing. It does not occur at all in Angkola.

The second form of adoption is the "nyentanayang" of Bali. This is adoption from within the great traditional clan of relatives (purusa). However, in recent times adoption from outside this group is growing in frequency. In some villages members of the wife's family may be adopted. If the head wife has no children, but a secondary wife does, then her children are made children of the first wife by adoption. If there are no male relatives available for adoption, a girl may be chosen. The legal act of adoption requires first that a thread be burned in two, so as to separate the child from its own family. The second step is the adat payment of one thousand kepeng to its mother. The man who is doing the adopting acts in concordance with his family group; it is announced in the desa; and permission must be obtained from the officials of the prince, who draw up a legal document. The child itself gets presents. Here again, the child is fully cut off from its former parents, even in inheritance, and is a full member of its new family group.

The motive for this form of adoption is also the fear of dying childless and so suffering the extinction of the line of descent. A widow may also adopt a child for her deceased husband.

As a third variety, there is the adoption of nephews and nieces, which occurs in Celebes, Java, and other places. Among the Gayo, the Pasemah and the Pepadon groups, in the Lampongs, it takes place alongside of the adoption of non-relatives. However, it is distinguished from this last form by name and in the omission of payments for the children.

The adoption of nephews is, in a broad sense, to be compared with the transfer of family land by partition, as a shift within the family group as such. Usually, there is no question of payments. Nevertheless, a practice in East Java, which gave adoption the character of a cash transaction, still seems to exist in the payment of a magical token of "rong wang sagobang" (seventeen and one-half cents) to the real parents, as a means of breaking their magic tie to the child. Among the Minahasans a tangible token, called "parade" (not lilikur, it seems) is given to the child in confirmation of the adoption.[5] The predominant purpose is, as usual, to get a descendant to carry on a person's line. But this is

[5] Concerning the old age care contract, which the Minahasans call "adoption," the reader should refer back to p. 138. [cat. 116 -- Analyst]

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Toradja OG11 Atjehnese OD4 Bali OF7
Halmahera OH12 Gorontolo OG4 Kei OH13
Javanese OE5 Mori-Laki OG7 Batak OD5
Sundanese OE7 Minangkabau OD10

The marriage ceremonies are universally charged with primitive and animistic ideas and customs. But they are also a point of contact for the revealed religions of Islam and Christianity, each of which influences marriage law and customs in its own way.

1. PRELIMINARIES TO MARRIAGE

a. *Marriage by proposal.* (Mominang in Malay; nglamar in Javanese.)—This form occurs generally throughout Indonesia. One party, usually that of the boy, invites the other party to consummate a marriage by giving an offering of betel (sirih). Such a proposal is almost always conveyed by an envoy or representative, who uses many flowery expressions and metaphors. The parties to the negotiations may be the extended families, the parents with the family group, or the parents alone, in concert with the marriageable pair. It is reported over and over that the future partners to the marriage may have a decisive say in the matter. The data on this point are given in detail for most law-areas.

If the proposal is accepted, this does not usually lead directly to marriage. There is first a betrothal in which the parties to the engagement bind themselves many times over to conclude the marriage. Usually, but not necessarily, the marriage date is set at betrothal, and the amount of marriage payments and the penalty for breaking the engagement are agreed upon. The agreement becomes binding only when the engagement present is handed over. The gift goes to the extended family, or the parents, or the woman. Sometimes this binder is given to the woman by the man, but among the Bataks, Minangkabauans, most Dyaks, some Torajas and the To Mori, both parties exchange them. The engagement binder appears to be unknown among the Minahasans.

Among the Atjeh the betrothal present is called "tanda kong narit," the sign that the agreement is in effect. In Nias is is "bobo mibu," a kind of hair band. On the Mentawei Islands it is called "sesere," a derivative of "sere," to bind. In South Celebes it is "passikkoq," derived from "sikkoq," which also means to bind. Among the Tobelo in Halmahera it is known as "tapu," anchor. The Kei Islanders call it "mas aye," binding gold. In Javanese, the present is called "panjer" and "panjerset," means of binding. In Sundanese the word is "panyangchang," which also means binder.

In scattered instances, the meaning of the gift seems to be somewhat different, and so its name has a different origin. In Bali, the betel, which is a part of the gift, is called "base panglarang," the

means of preventing (anyone else from marrying the girl), although the entire present is simply called "paweweh," gift. In the Balinese village of Tnganan Pagringsingan betrothal is called "masawen"—the attachment of a prohibitory mark through the offering of betel.

In isolated instances, the ornament, which is given to the girl's parents at betrothal, is returned after the marriage takes place. This makes it an engagement pledge among the Korinchi. The "tanga rasan" (marriage pledge) of the Rejangs is the first instalment of the marriage present given to the woman. If she refuses, it must be returned; hence it is also called "gadai" (pledge).

There is an element of magical effect in all the giving of engagement binders. No doubt there is a trend toward a diminution of belief in the magic consequences, so that the "tanda" takes on instead the quality of proof that the engagement actually took place.

In the event minors are being engaged, their parents or family headmen naturally act for them. Adults, who are being engaged, usually are permitted a say in the proceedings.

There are many motives behind engagement. A person wants to make sure of a good marriage before long. Sometimes he gets help from a future son-in-law. Where girls are permitted free sexual licence before they become engaged, there may be a desire to withdraw this privilege from a girl as soon as possible.

Betrothal is usually marked by a feast attended by members of the extended families. The village chiefs are usually informed of the engagement, so as to bring the community officially into the new legal act. Thus the parties are assured of legal protection through the cooperation of the chiefs.

Engagement, and especially the engaged girl, is variously called "tunangan" (Malay), "pachangan" (Javanese), and in Bali, "bunching." Among the Ngaju Dyaks, infant betrothal of a girl to a particular boy is known as "mamupuh." This is, in fact, a sort of preliminary engagement.

In some law-areas there is an unusual form, which can be called "pressure proposal." Among the Ngaju Dyaks, for example, the boy climbs up on the house of the girl with a valuable present. He will not remove himself until she gives her consent to marriage, or buys him off with a forfeit of equal value. Marriage follows hard after, without an engagement period.

Sometimes a pregnant girl will force a marriage by locking her swain within her house, and publicly displaying gifts.

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riage remain personal debts. In South Sumatra, such possessions are called "harta pembujangan" (of the husband) and "harta penantian" (of the wife). In Bali, they are "guna kaya" of both the husband and wife.

But if acquired during the course of the marriage, such possessions usually become the joint property of the husband and wife. Yet there are circumstances under which property acquired during marriage becomes the personal property of one of the marriage partners. In Atjeh, for example, the income of the husband belongs to him personally, unless the wife has provided the family some material basis in the form of a residential compound or a garden, or unless she gave him subsistence on a journey. (Could this be a ratiocination on the part of the community against the law of Islam, which does not recognize her?) In West Java, for example, if at the time of marriage the wife was rich and the husband poor, the income during marriage goes to the woman personally. But among the priyayi class in Java, it seems to be assumed that the receipts of the husband are for him. Finally, the goods or money which were presented by her parents to the wife, in connection with her marriage (not in the form of partition, dowry, etc.), generally continue to belong to her, and usually remain her personal property. Where a marriage gift to the wife occurs among the marriage payments, such as the "jinamee" in Atjeh, the "hoko" among the Minahasa, and the "sunrang" in the largest part of South Celebes, that property or money remains the property of the wife. In like manner, the presents, which she receives from her future husband or from family members as a part of getting married remain her own property, for the most part. In Atjeh this is true only of the defloration present and the seventh-day present. But it holds for the penalty, which (in Borneo, for example) the one spouse has to pay to the other because of an offense.

3. *Marriage property held jointly by husband and wife.*—The rule that property acquired during marriage is held jointly by husband and wife is just as common as the rule premised above with respect to "asal" property, which remains the property of the kin group. Joint ownership forms an estate to which both husband and wife each have a claim, in part, in case of divorce. It is a great exception if there is no provision at all for such joint property. It is only among patrilineal local groups that the kin group property of the husband (in case of a bride-price marriage) or of the wife (in case of an adoptive marriage) leaves no room for building a joint estate.